1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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585 Kota musicians, and bring therefrom water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. The bride then salutes all her new relations, and they in turn give her their blessing. The ceremonial concludes with a feast, at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah (pial), and receive presents.

181 "Though," a correspondent writes, "the Badaga is simple, and his wants are few, he cannot resist the temptation of wine and women. The Badaga woman 586 can change husbands as often as she pleases by a simple 587 system of divorce, and can also carry on with impunity (837) intimacy within the pale of her own community. It is not uncommon to find Badaga women changing husbands, so long as youth and vigour tempt them to do so, and confining themselves eventually to the last individual, after age and infirmity have made their mark, and render such frolics inexpedient." A former Magistrate of the 578 Nilgiris informs me that he tried more than one case, in 691 which a married man filed a complaint against another man for kidnapping or enticing away his wife for immoral purposes. The father of the woman was always charged as an abetter, and pleaded that, as no pariyam (bride price) had been paid by the husband, though he and the woman lived together as man and wife, no criminal offence could be proved against either the 595 father or the abductor. Polygamy is permitted, and the plurality of wives is a gain to the husband, as each wife becomes a bread-winner, and supports her children, and the man makes each wife superintend one depart- 587 ment of the day's work. Remarriage of widows is very common, and a widow may marry the brother of her 837 deceased husband. It is said to be etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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should be accessible to her brothers-in-law. Instances occur, in which the husband is much younger than his wife, who, until he has reached maturity, cohabits with her paternal aunt's son, or some one whom she may have a fancy for. The marriage ceremony of the Udayas is carried out on an elaborate scale, and is based on the type of ceremonial which is carried out by some castes in the plains. Before dawn on the marriage day, the brothers and cousins of the bridegroom go, accompanied by some Udayas and the Kota band, to the forest, whence they bring two sticks of *Mimusops hexandra*, to do duty as the milk-posts. The early hour is selected, to avoid the chance of coming across inauspicious objects. The sticks should be cut off the tree at a single stroke of the bill-hook, and they may not be laid flat on the ground, but placed on a blanket spread thereon. The Udayas, who joined in the procession, collect twelve posts of *Mimusops* as supports for the marriage booth (pandal). In front of the house, which is to be the scene of the wedding, two pits are dug, into which cow-dung water is poured. The pūjāri does pūja to the milk-posts by offering sugar-cane, jaggery (crude sugar), etc., and ties two threads thereto. The posts are then placed in the pits by five people—the parents of the bridal couple and the priest. The booth, and dais or enclosure, are then erected close to the milk-posts. On the second day, the bridegroom's party, attended by Kota musicians, dressed up in dancing costume, go to the house of the bride, where a feast is held. The bride then salutes a lamp, and prostrates herself at the feet of her parents, who bless her, saying "May your body and hands soon be filled (*i.e.*, may you have a child), and may your life be prosperous." The bride is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom,

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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3 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

539

"Lust is deceitful: I have lost my blanket through it."

(Proverb)

Fertility and Morality

121

3.1. It may justly be asked why a lengthy treatment of sexual behaviour is considered necessary to an account of Badaga medical conditions. Sex is a normal bodily function, and any diseases associated with this function are dealt with elsewhere in this book (6.61-6.62). Yet there are three reasons why the following emic account of sexual behaviour has been put together. One is that a similarly full account of peasant sexual activity seems to be lacking in the literature currently available on South Asia, and so I am able to fill a certain gap with this difficult and necessarily impressionistic essay. Secondly, the genetic effects of sexual practices are quite different from what Badaga marriage rules would suggest. Those rules represent the Badagas as an endogamous community, made up of a number of almost wholly endogamous phratries, and practising preferential cross-cousin marriage. This picture differs from what we may call the breeding pattern, which clearly allows for genetic intermingling between all of the Badaga phratries, and furthermore for Badaga males to contribute to the gene pool of Kotas, Todas and other neighbouring communities. Thirdly, these breeding patterns are obviously tied to the spread of certain venereal diseases. This
121 is of great importance, since there appears to be a positive relation-
ship between degree of religious orthodoxy, hierarchical status of
615 a phratry, and fertility. To be more precise, the Wodeyas, the phratry
554 highest in status, are orthodox, vegetarian, and Lingayat. My
842 impression was that extra-marital sexual licence was less with this
phratry than with certain lower-ranking ones, and much less than
(837) with the lowest group, the Toreyas. At the same time my censuses
615 of several Badaga villages showed the following average numbers
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experience, others for cash or a small present (such as cigrettes or chewing tobacco). The opposite situation, involving Badaga women, does not occur. The Todas think of themselves as the equals of the Badagas and do not always take kindly to this intertribal intercourse. From the male Toda point of view a Toda girl who has given herself to a Badaga has probably been raped by him, and the offender is lucky if he escapes a serious beating at the hands of the woman's husband or husbands (Basel Mission 1905: 30; Emeneau 1971: 613). Not long ago an elderly Englishman guilty of the same offence with a Toda girl was hanged on a tree by unknown persons; and earlier a Tamil Muslim was murdered by a gang of Todas after he had seduced several of their women (Madras 1928: 43-44).

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Relations with Toda women were not always so difficult, however. It used to be possible for a Badaga who wanted to enjoy a Toda girl to be given access to the wife of his Toda trading partner, or else that woman would make some arrangements for him with another girl. Such activity used to be indulged in quite openly and was seemingly acceptable to both Todas and Badagas.

The Kotas are considered the lowest in status of all the Nilgiri communities, and so if Badagas had relations with their women it had to be in great secrecy. Kota men would be too scared of the possible consequences to attempt anything with Badaga women. Nonetheless, Kota girls were an easy conquest, for I am told they thought it quite a privilege to have coitus with a Badaga. If a Kota saw that his wife was being seduced by a Badaga he would usually not stop them. It was thought by Kotas that the intelligence and other good qualities of the Badaga man would appear in his offspring, who would grow up as a Kota. In the middle fifties an illuminating case was brought before a council, as a result of a Badaga boy being caught in the embrace of a Kota girl at midday. To hide her shame somewhat at being seen, the girl said she was being raped. Her father stunned the council by saying: "Badagas and Kotas *are* having intercourse; but this boy was doing it in broad daylight!" The implication was that intercourse was permissible between the two groups but only if it were conducted in the secrecy of night.

The Kurumba tribe were greatly feared for their sorcery, and Badagas did not have sexual encounters with Kurumba women; nor under ordinary circumstances did the opposite occur. There is however an epic Badaga folksong about Kadare Gauda, seemingly based on a historical personage, whose brother's wife was seduced

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between the two, or between a father and his daughter, has often led to a divorce.

In the estimate of one good informant, when incest occurs within the family it is most often with an elder brother's wife, and less commonly with a son's wife or with the father's second wife when she is a man's stepmother. Mother/son, father/daughter and brother/sister relations are the rarest of all, if indeed they ever occur.

The above seven types of illicit relationship are listed in my informant's order, going from (*a*) the most common but least serious, to (*g*), the most uncommon and offensive. Despite the considerable amount of evidence collected on these various types, I was told by old people that it used to be thought a very bad thing for a husband to commit adultery, and if his wife or another person found out about it she would go to the village headman who would call a meeting of the council and then fine the guilty person: in adultery the man was always at fault.

Among Badagas the public attitude towards a cuckolded husband is that he is a foolish, weak and lazy man, for otherwise his wife could not have been led astray. However, his wife also loses all respect with the other village women, who may well fear that they could lose their own husbands to her too. Nor can the adulterous man expect any accolades for his behaviour. Today a case of adultery may go before a council, which can still fine the adulterer; or her husband may quietly divorce an adulterous wife; or he might give the adulterer a beating, provided he had some alternate explanation for it to offer his neighbours.

Attitudes towards extra-marital love and prostitution are clearly expressed in Badaga proverbs and legends. Witness the following still current proverbs: "Three things are equal to each other: a harlot, an adulterer, and a piece of ground which is always in danger of being washed away by a river" (Metz 1864: 97); "If the food is spoiled, the day is spoiled; if the wife is spoiled, one's life is spoiled;" "The immoral woman will not believe her own husband;" "The whoremonger will vanish away like a handful of wind" (Metz 1864: 98); and again, "Lust is deceitful, I have lost my blanket through it" (Metz 1864: 96). A few lines from an epic poem conjure up a vision of limbo that is worthy of Dante's *Inferno :*

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discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be. What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

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615 554 837 some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries. If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

615 554 836 837 601 It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas, the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas — call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

615 554 836 (*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the Toreyas.

548 837 (*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

548 837 197 A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

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by a Kurumba who used magic to get her. How else could he have succeeded?

Nowadays the patronizing of lowland prostitutes is seemingly more common than are casual relationships with Toda or Kota girls or for that matter local Kanarese or Tamilian girls. The choice of a prostitute is a matter of personal taste. Some men do not mind older women, others want them very young; some prefer Anglo-Indians, others Malayalis, and so on. The deciding factor is usually what one can pay. Both the main towns of the Nilgiris, Coonoor and Ootacamund, have a variety of women available. The pimps one approaches do not keep the girls, but can call them from their houses; a client has to pay the pimp, not the girl. During the main tourist season a crew of high-class prostitutes is maintained in, but not by, the main Ootacamund hotels. These women circulate from one hotel to another every few days. At the other end of the scale one occasionally encounters village prostitutes. In a typical case a lowland man kept two non-Badaga women, whom he claimed to be his wife and her sister, but whom he made available to anybody for a small payment.

(*f*) Intercourse with Badaga girls born in one's own village is technically incestuous and as such is frowned upon. Nonetheless men do sometimes have affairs with their parallel cousins who, in kinship terminology, would be called "sisters." If a girl visits a neighbour's house too often, or a youth from that house finds reasons to visit hers, their families get suspicious about the matter. They tell him to go away while the girl is present, or else ask her why she has to visit at this particular time. If such hints do not suffice, the girl may find herself quickly married to somebody else in another village.

(*g*) Real intrafamilial incest is extremely rare, except in the common case of a man having relations with the wife of an elder brother, a matter that can usually be excused. I know of few instances of genuine incest, but can present as meagre evidence of Badagas having an incest wish the fact that a tale about it is told repeatedly and listened to eagerly. This tale, supposedly of Tamil origin, is about a man whose wife died and who then had relations with his own daughter, thinking of her as a fruit that he had grown himself and would now enjoy. There are heavy prohibitions on sexual intercourse between a brother and sister. Were relations to occur between them their entire family would be despised. A brother and sister should not even sit together and talk in front of their elders. In fact affection

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1933: 74). They now keep rags on a special shelf in the house for the same purpose: the men, knowing what the rags are intended for, never place anything else on the same shelf. Today, with the menstrual hut rarely used, women simply sit on a pile of ash in a corner of the outer room for three days. If a menstruating woman sleeps there she cleans and changes her clothes and bedding every day. At the end of the period she puts her mattress outside to air, cleans the floor at the place where it lay, and sprinkles the area with liquid cowdung. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two beforehand that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is not altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has ready access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. The fact that a woman may leave a characteristic odour in the house is seen as the main disadvantage today. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering a cattleshed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattleshed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

3.14. Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each cluster of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly the concern of the men (as we shall see again when discussing who attends a woman's delivery). A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their fathers' villages to use the hut. Such predilections were not the result of whim or differential cleanliness, but were reactions to the well-known fact that the hut was a key place for arranging

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amorous affairs. If a man wanted a particular girl he would note when she went to the menstrual hut, and would then persuade a female friend to stay in the hut with her and turn her fancy away from her husband and towards this unannounced suitor. A girl's parents or husband would therefore keep a careful watch on who else was in the hut. In a small hamlet, on the other hand, the female population might be so little that a woman would often find herself alone in the hut. In that case she would be afraid to sleep there by herself for fear of Kurumba sorcerers and ghosts. (This fear ran counter to the Badaga belief that Kurumbas themselves were afraid of menstruating women, and hence would never enter the hut and secretly ravish or attack any menstruating woman through sorcery.) Because of this fear, a woman who was alone in the hut would persuade another who was due to menstruate in the next few days to tell her family the period had already begun, so that the two could sleep together in the hut. This ruse would not allow the second woman to spend extra time in the hut however, and she might well continue to menstruate after leaving it, but would keep the matter secret. Sometimes a woman would be already pregnant when she entered the hut for such purely social reasons. Since the number of weeks until she came to term might be calculated from the last day a woman was in the hut, it therefore could happen that she gave birth in what seemed to be the eighth month of pregnancy.

When a group of women were together in the menstrual hut they could engage in a number of interesting activities. The only work they were permitted to do was to gather firewood for use there, prepare their own food, and wash their clothes (at a place separate from the usual spot). It was generally while in the hut that an adolescent girl underwent tattooing. The only game the women played was "eye-bean," an ancient Old World game which involved the redistribution of beans in a series of a dozen depressions. In general girls were not allowed to play this until they had their first pregnancy, but younger girls did play it too while in the menstrual hut.

Cooking vessels kept in the hut were common to the whole village, and were in constant use. There was no need to destroy or even purify them after use, since everyone involved with them was in a state of pollution. Foodstuffs could be given to the women by their relatives, but it was taboo to give them cooked foods. No pot, basket or cloth would be taken to the hut with food, since it could not be taken back home afterwards. Thus when a woman in the hut was

In a similar arrangement an old man's younger brother slept with the new wife and begot children who were treated as her husband's. Such practices now seem to have stopped. "Children for an older man are a weight on his shoulder," says the proverb.

3.16. In keeping with the idea that intercourse should satisfy a couple, Badagas are familiar with a variety of coital approaches—although nothing like that described in the *Kama Sutra*. The psychological benefits of making love are acknowledged in a proverb: "[If husband and wife are] not on good terms before midnight, they will play after midnight."

Badagas customarily take a bath before having sexual relations, and under normal conditions are both nude when making love. Older couples are generally naked in bed, but nowadays the younger people wear pyjamas or underwear. Young men, particularly if educated in a city, know how to use foreplay to get a woman excited. Until European films were seen in the Nilgiris, however, mouth-kissing was not indulged in, although men did kiss and bite the neck, cheeks and breasts of their women. Inside the house the normal position for intercourse is lying on a bed, but if they have to hurry the couple will use a standing position or stoop over something, with the man entering from behind, as indeed they do when in the forest. Parents may have relations in the same bed their children are sleeping in, in which case they will lie on their sides during intercourse. Curiously, a couple can do this with their baby lying beside them, and it will not be affected by the "bad wind" of coitus; whereas if they do it in another room they must not come near their baby until they have cleaned themselves and put on fresh clothes, for fear that the baby will be affected. Furthermore, if they also have some older children they may take them into the same bed with the baby before having intercourse in that very bed; the belief here being that even though the other children are weaned they too could be affected by this very dangerous "wind" if they were sleeping in another room. Young couples with no children generally sleep in a small room by themselves, on the end of the veranda. If their ageing parents live with them, the couple may leave the inner room to them and sleep under the wide shelf in the outer room. Otherwise a couple will occupy the inner room at night. If a man has two wives he usually has relations with one in the presence of the other, all three sharing the same bed.

Although a young bride should be the first to get up in the morn-

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842 be that way for every thousand women who are. It is not assumed that a women is barren if her first marriage produces no children, however: the couple should divorce and both remarry, in order to have children with other spouses. By this procedure it will be seen whether a person is really infertile. Badagas believe infertility is caused by a (754) curse, or by sin done in one's previous life, or by (783) the sins of one's ancestors. In some villages a childless man would allow his brother to have (837) coitus with his wife in an attempt to gain off- (835) spring.

842 I was unable to identify any definite medicine for infertility. A barren girl was inspected nude by 759 a therapist and told that "she was intended to be a male and would never have childern." (Sometimes the therapist could tell from a girl's face if she were incurable, and told her so.) Nonetheless the female therapist later on (around 1930) made 842 a positive suggestion for curing the barren girl: 759 she should get hold of a small boy just after he 755 had defecated, and while his penis was in a some- 839 what erect state; she should then gently suck on his organ. This was probably a reflection of the (827) idea offered somewhere in the Puranas that the semen of small boys is in vaporous form; later it becomes liquid; and in old age it has become solid. It is highly doubtful, however, whether any Badagas believe a woman can be inseminated through the mouth.

842 This particular therapist did have a medicine for infertility, but apparently died with her secret 759 long before I worked in her villages. She did know of a plant that cured the affliction, and once mentioned to a daughter-in-law that the cure was very difficult and that she had very high standards for its proper performance. In administering the medicine she also told women they should love their husbands to the utmost, for they were usually barren simply because their minds were not

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842 offer up the hair of all subsequent children that
782 may have been born to him in the interim.
6.64. Early in the nineteenth century the Abbé
842 J. A. Dubois, understandably aghast at what he
782 had learnt, noted that women yearning for children
786 prostituted themselves to anyone at temple festi-
837 vals in the plains near the foot of the Nilgiri Hills. "Barren women, in the hope that they will cease to be so, visit them after binding themselves by a vow to grant their favours to a fixed number of libertines" (Dubois 1906 : 596). He also wrote
842 about the temple at Nanjangud, near Mysore,
788 which is in the centre of the Badagas' ancient home-
787 land and is still much visited by them:
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> Offerings and prayers are not the only ceremonies which have to be gone through. On leaving the temple the woman, accompanied by her husband, has to go to a place where all the pilgrims are accustomed to resort to answer the calls of nature. There the husband and the wife collect with their hands a certain quantity of ordure and form it into a small pyramid, which they are careful to mark with a sign that will enable them to recognize it. Then they go to the neighbouring tank and mix in the hollow of their hands the filth which has soiled their fingers. (But I will spare my readers the rest.) After having performed their ablutions they retire. Two or three days afterwards they visit their pyramid, and, still using their hands, turn the filthy mass over and over and examine it as carefully and as seriously as the Roman augurs scrutinized the entrails of sacrificed animals, in order to see if any insects have been engendered in it. In this case it would be a very good omen, showing that the woman would soon be pregnant. But if, after careful search, not even the smallest insect is visible, the poor couple,

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sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail. (Dubois 1906 : 594-95)

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More recently it has also been reported that sterile women attended the popular festival of the goddess Ma:riamma at Ka:ramaḍai, near the eastern foot of the Nilgiris in Coimbatore District, to have intercourse with religious mendicants there in the hope of getting children. Such unpleasant procedures, resorted to by Badaga, Tamilian and Kanarese pilgrims alike, have long since ceased to occur, but childless couples still make vows at the Ka:ramaḍai festival "Miles" : (1933 267).

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URETHRITIS (*sege*)

6.65. A liquid medicine (details unrecorded) otherwise given to newly delivered mothers (cf. 4.11) is administered to a person who cannot urinate. This condition and the associated swollen bladder, caused by excess of "heat" in the body, are relieved by the medicine.

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Fevers

FEVER (*jara*)

6.66. The Badagas like the English have a saying, "If you are suffering from a cold, take extra food; if suffering from a fever, take little food." There are different kinds of fever, and they can affect people of all ages, but one medicine can be taken for all kinds. The shoots and smaller leaves of the velvety patchouli and related species (*koḍaṅgu*) are ground up and the juice from them mixed with some salt. This is swallowed, and is said to be more effective than quinine. In the early nineteenth century opium was used as a prophylactic against fever (Price 1908: 224).

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6.67. The Kurumbas knew of a now-forgotten twig or root which, when smelled fresh, dispelled fever. The present medicine of the Badagas makes use instead of the nest of the red-headed fantail warbler

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428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
(622) insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
(623) man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to *his* son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
(428) sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
(837) in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
597 property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives
(425) accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
(736) brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
(425) their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council
(623) would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF